Duplicate (38 4)

THE

State of the Navy

CONSIDER'D

In relation to the

VICTUALLING,

Particularly in the STRAITS, and the WEST INDIES.

WITH

Some Thoughts on the Miſmanagements of the ADMIRALTY for ſeveral Years paſt; and a Propoſal to prevent the like for the future.

Humbly offer'd to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, by an Engliſh SAILOR.

BIBLIOTHECA

LONDON,

Printed for *A. Baldwin* in *Warwicklane*, 1699.

Price 3 *d.*

The State of the Navy consider'd In relation to the VICTUALLING, &c.

THE Mismanagements of the Navy since this Revolution have been so abominable, that they could never have been born at such vast expence, but by an easy People, fond of a Government of their own setting up, and of a King sutable to the Genius of the English Nation, and worthy of Immortal Honor, notwithstanding the Male-Administration of the Officers employed under him. Will not future Ages blush at the insensible Temper of their Forefathers, when they shall read of the escape of the *Thoulon* Fleet into *Brest*, and the abominable Affair of Monsieur *Pointi*? When they read the horrid Stories of our being gull'd out of Mony rais'd for publick Service, and diverted to private and sinister Ends, will they not wish those Sums had been transmitted to them to be employ'd in more generous Atchievements? But as Clouds often arise over the more clear Understandings and wisest Heads, so Nations sometimes become delirious, and hurry into Ruin, till kind Heaven remove the pernicious Frenzy. Had the Mismanagements of the Navy tended only to the Consumption of our Wealth, the Loss might have been repaired, but when our Sailors are poison'd by bad Provisions, or starv'd for want of good, the loss is irreparable. Thus the Blood of War is profusely spilt in lowzy Hammocks, stagnated with noisom Scents, and the flower of our youthful Sailors smothered in unsuccessful and needless Voyages, who might have won to themselves and the Nation immortal Wreaths of Honour in noble Attempts upon the Enemy. This Decrease of Seamen looks more like a Design upon the English Nation, than the effect of Providence. He that abandons himself to a morose Temper in his sickness, and will not take such Specificks as are essential to his Recovery, is a *felo de se*: And such Officers as deny necessary and good Provisions for Sea Service, can design no other than the Destruction of the Sailors, and consequently of the Nation. They undermine our National Walls, I mean our Shipping, which without Men are but Floating Castles, meer Machins of War altogether indefensible. The Hardships of the Sailors have indeed been worthy the Consideration of our Representatives in Parliament. But poor Creatures, they have no body to represent their Grievances, they are tumbl'd and tos'd on the watry Ele-

ment perhaps 18 or 20 Months together in the *Straits*, and as ſoon as they arrive in the Channel are turn'd over to other Ships bound to the *Weſt-Indies* or other Parts, and not ſuffer'd to come athoar and tell their Tale; or if they land, the neceſſitous good-natur'd Creatures ſell their Tickets for half the worth, bouze it about in a Can of Flip, or a Bowl of Punch, forget their Sorrow, and remember their Miſery no more. If any Complaints have been made, it has been done by the ſtarv'd Wives and miſerable Children of Mariners; if they have complain'd to thoſe Officers that ſhould have done them Juſtice they might as well have told their Story to the Winds and devouring Billows, the treacherous Sands, and fatal Rocks, the natural Enemies of their Relations. Have they complained to Parliament? What Redreſs could they expect from ſuch a Parliament as the laſt and preceding Parliaments, ſo full of Courtiers, Judges of their own Cauſe, and Auditors of their own Accounts? The laſt Seſſions of Parliament the poor Labourers, Artificers, and others, belonging to the Victualling-Office, petitioned for Arrears of Wages due to them; the Committee that examined the Caſe, conſiſted moſt part of the time but of ſeven Perſons, when (I am told) according to the Cuſtom of Parliament they ought to have been eight: four of the ſeven I knew to be Commiſſioners and Officers, and two of the four Perſons complain'd againſt; tho the Caſe was clear that they had ſome fifteen, others twelve, *&c.* Months due to them, and at the ſame time the Commiſſioners and Officers received their Salaries quarterly, yet a Report of the poor Mens Caſe was never made to the Houſe. But the Caſe of the Sailors is far worſe than others; they have no Time, no Acquaintance, nor Intereſt to proſecute any thing of this Nature, and thoſe that abuſe and cheat 'em have got the Weathergage of them, they can ſend 'em at any time on a long Errand to the E. or W. *Indies* far enough out of hearing: upon their return the Complaint is grown as mouldy as their Bread, and as ruſty as their Pork and Beef have been during the Voyage, and therefore ought to be caſt without Survey.

The Sailors Caſe is indeed deplorable, kept long without pay, ſometimes ſix years, forc'd to ſell Tickets to raiſe a little Mony for their Families at half value, tho as good and brave Engliſhmen as any; are altogether enſlaved, and without any Law that I ever heard of impreſt, their Liberty taken from them, which when gone they are effectual Slaves; impriſon'd on board Ship, caned and kick'd by Commanders juſt dropt from behind a Coach at *White-Hall* into the Service of the Navy, miſerably abus'd in being turn'd over from one Ship to another (contrary to the Rules of Humanity, and the Cuſtom of the Navy) ſo that after they have been at Sea ſeveral years, are hurried out again without Liberty ſo much as to ſee their Relations. Now all things conſider'd, What Encouragement have Mariners to ſerve their

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Country in the Navy? The only thing they have a seeming Certainty of is their Meat and Drink, and to be cheated of that too is the Devil.

The Parliaments of *England* have always made a generous Allowance for the maintenance of the Sailors, and especially upon the Account of Victualling: but considering how damnably Funds are clipt, how many hands Mony passes through, and every one of them must have a snack out of it, it is no wonder if our Sailors Guts are pinch'd, and appear like half starv'd Mortals, rather resembling the carv'd wooden Images in the Stern than the Ship's Crew. Go to *Smithfield* first, and see there the Oxen bought, and very modestly compute the Buyers Skip out of 'em to be 60000 *l.* since the Revolution; follow the Cattel to the Victualling-Office, and see an undescended Wretch there receiving them, advanc'd from thredbare Clothes since the Revolution to the Sum of twenty thousand Pound got out of a Salary of eighty Pounds *per annum*; besides a Journy-man Apothecary, and a Skipper at the Board, rais'd from abject Nothing to wonderful Pomp. These things consider'd, the Sailors must make small Meals; and it dos plainly demonstrate how our Funds become deficient, when so many obscure Persons of no intrinsick Value or Worth must get Estates out of them. But to proceed to the Condition of the Victualling since the Revolution.

Soon after the Revolution and the honourable Fight off *Beachy*, Sir *John Parsons* and Company, the then Commissioners of the Victualling, were complain'd against in Parliament for pottoning the Sailors, by putting Guts in the Beer, and Galls in the packing of the Flesh, which put the Sailors into a Flux, whereof great numbers of them dy'd: The Commissioners in their own Justification alledg'd, That the Beer being ropy, as often it is, and recovers it self again, might occasion that Mistake by some ignorant Sailors: That the Galls happened in the packing by reason of some Bags of Galls that broke on board the Ship, from whence the Salt was taken, wherewith the Flesh was packed. I shall neither justify nor condemn those Commissioners; but I always wonder'd how Galls should have different Virtues by Sea and Land, for that very year I was cured in *Ireland* of a violent bloody Flux, by taking Powder of Galls: However hereupon Sir *John* and the rest were dismiss'd from their Imployments. This Remove always seem'd to me to be made by some Persons to make room for the present Commissioners; nor do I believe the present Commissioners themselves think their Predecessors guilty of any Crime: for upon the Establishment of the present Commission, those very Persons that put the Guts in the Beer and Galls into the Cask, were continued in their places, and the only Favourites of the present Commission, so that Sir *John Parsons* and Company were to bear the Sins of the whole Office, as King *James* did of the whole Nation, none suffering for Male-Administration but himself.

But

But the chief Design of this Paper being an Account of the present Management of the Victualling, I shall relate it with all the Candor and Faithfulness that becomes a Christian and an Englishman, as in Duty I am bound by those natural Ties and Obligations which lie upon me to the Service of my Country, and redressing the Grievances of injur'd Seamen. In order to which I shall consider how the King and Nation have been served in the Victualling, and what Provision has been made for Seamen during the War.

You'l say perhaps it's no News to hear that the King and Nation are cheated, since we have had a continued Series of Villany in Publick Offices with Impunity. But from the Victualling we might expect better things, where not only Honesty, but Religion is pretended; yet the Godly are liable to Temptations, and an Ounce of Virtue is a precious Commodity amongst some sort of People. A certain Person must be a very honest Man, because the Dissenting Preachers about *London* vouch for his honesty; and as mighty Zealots as they were in the late Reigns for Liberty and Property, and against Courtiers in the House of Commons and Pensionary Parliaments, can now join with the Wicked to commit Iniquity, and shove their heavy-ears'd Hearers to *Guild-Hall* to vote for a Courtier, and give their recommendatory Epistles to the Church at *Dover* on behalf of the sage Politician the Son. But particular Reflections are somewhat besides my purpose, and therefore I shall offer Observations on their Service to the Country in the Management of the Victualling.

Their Contracts with the Dealers to the Office have been the most preposterous of any thing in the World. *Thomas Middleton* a Hogman told me, he one year contracted with the Commissioners for a number of Hogs, by which Contract he gained betwixt four and five thousand Pounds: That the next year (as I remember) he made another Contract for a number of Hogs, by which Contract he was a loser, the Markets rising higher than usual; at the end of the season when the whole Complement of Hogs were kill'd, he complain'd of his Loss to the Commissioners, who made an Interest with the Lords of the Treasury, who in consideration of his loss gave 2500 *l.* out of the King's Pocket. Who would not enter into Contract with the King, who is willing to bear all the Loss and have no share of Profit? This *Thomas Middleton* being burdened with Riches, took an occasion to hang himself, and was succeeded in Contract by *Henry Nunalee*, who upon a Contract of Hogs lost 1500 *l.* He went the same way as *Middleton* had done; but *Nunalee* being a Williamite, and well-affected to the Government, met with more Rubs and Obstacles than the other who was a profess'd Jacobite: However after much attendance, and (I suppose) paiment of a little Civility-Mony, he got an allowance for the Loss. The Case is

plain

plain on the King's part, that he is a Loſer by ſuch a Contract; and as the Commiſſioners cannot be juſtified in ſuch a Contract, ſo the Reaſon of it on their part is very difficult to be found. For when they contracted with Mr. *Nunalee* for the Parcel of Hogs before-mentioned, Pork was at half a Crown a Stone in the Markets, a riſing Price too: It was no Maſt Year, all manner of Hog Grain exceſſive dear, the Seaſon ſo far advanced, that all the Town and Offal Hogs were kill'd and converted to Bacon: however the Commiſſioners, like good Husbands for the King, beat down the Price; and one wiſe Commiſſioner ſaid, that as he return'd out of the Country, he ſaw a hundred Hogs in one Field, and thence rationally concluding there were the like number in every Field in *England*, they brought the Contract down to twenty ſix Shillings *per* hundred Weight. Now if there was any other meaning in this Contract, beſides doing Diſſervice to the Nation, it muſt be this, that at the end of the Seaſon, by putting the Hogman to petition the Treaſury Board to have his Loſs conſider'd, they ſhould manifeſt their wonderful Sagacity in biting off the Head of a poor Hogman.

Such Contracts are equally injurious to the Sailors as to the King; for the Contractor loſing Money every day, muſt make the beſt of his Market, which is buying the worſt Hogs, ſo that very thin and ill fed Pork, in all likelihood muſt fill the wooden Platters aboard Ship, and the Sailors be fed with the Refuſe of the Markets, who as they do the beſt Service to the Nation, ought to have the beſt Proviſions the Land can produce. Antient Cuſtom and common Uſage in Offices are or ought to be as much obſerved by Officers, as the Laws of a Realm by the Subject; for when old Cuſtoms are broken in Offices, all things are put into confuſion, and Men are at a loſs how to apply themſelves. It has been an old and a rational Cuſtom in our Offices, and always inſerted in the Inſtructions from the Admiralty to dependant Offices upon it, that no Perſon ſhall deal, or be any way concerned in Trade in that Office wherein he receives Salary: But this has been ſo far from the Practice of the Victualling, that ſome of the Commiſſioners and Officers have dealt with the Office either in Shipping or otherwiſe. A great evil attends this Practice; for Officers paying themſelves, we can't imagine they'l put themſelves laſt upon the Liſt of Paiment; and ſo other Warrants that are in Courſe are poſtpon'd. And it has been obſerv'd that no Office in *England* has broken the Courſe of Paiment more than that of the Victualling: Beſides, ſome of the Officers are common Buyers and Sellers of the Office Bills, and as conſtant Brokers upon the Exchange, as any that deal in Exchequer Notes, Bank Bills or Tallies.

It is now become a Custom (I believe throughout the whole Navy) for the Cathiers and Clerks to take Poundage of the Persons they pay Money to, contrary to antient Custom, and all the Equity in the World. The Victualling for some time had a Banker in *Lombard-street*, who paid Money upon the King's Account, and took Poundage of the Persons he paid it to, as did their Agent at *Portsmouth*. This must be either a very great Exaction upon the Parties dealing to the Office, or else an Allowance is made for it in the Price of the Commodity, which is a downright Abuse to the Nation.

That the Nation has been cheated and abus'd more since the Revolution than under any other Government, is evident to any thinking man. The Mismanagements of the Victualling have been so great, and the Office so scandalous, that it has been even a national Nusance; and tho prosecuted with reiterated Complaints at the Treasury and Parliament, all the honest Endeavours of Mankind have prov'd ineffectual: for where Men are Judges of their own Cause, no Justice can be expected: You'l never hang a Highway-man more, if you allow him to be tried by his own Troop. About four years ago some honest Men in the Victualling had made a Discovery of several Embezelments, of which they complained in divers Articles against the Officers embezelling the King's Stores. These Articles were delivered to one of the Commissioners, and so to another, but never examin'd into: All the punishment they inflicted on him was, that about a week after the Complaint, they gave him liberty for the Summer to retide at his Country House, and order'd the Officer that complain'd against him to do duty in his Room: This is much of the same nature of another Complaint against one of their Officers for drinking K. *James*'s Health, who in a Fortnight afterwards was advanced from a Place of forty Pounds *per Ann.* to about three or four hundred. A Person of Honour hearing how the foresaid Complaint was stifled by the Commissioners of the Victualling, got a Copy thereof, and gave it to the Lords of the Treasury, who after some time heard the Commissioners *ex parte* against the King, and never examined one Witness on the King's part, to the proof of the matter of Fact alledged in the said Articles. So that hitherto it has been in vain to complain of Grievances, and the People of *England* have been forc'd to maintain by the sweat of their Brows, many that formerly betray'd their Liberties, and now enrich themselves out of the publick spoils of the Kingdom.

To recount all Mismanagements in this Office would fill a large Volume; the Ignorance and Negligence of the Persons concern'd in it, the profuse wasting of the Nation's Stores, the contriving and forming Perquisites out of the same to themselves, contrary to former Custom and Practice, the supernumerary Officers and Labourers in the Yards, old and decrepid, fitter for Hospitals than Service, are things notorious in the Eyes of all but such as should punish

puniſh them. Indeed ſuch Men are well ſecured in ill Practices; they have their Brethren in other Offices to ſtand by them, and a Power of diſcharging ſuch of the Office as complain againſt them, as they did ſeveral of the poor men that complain'd againſt them in Parliament laſt year; nay one of the Commiſſioners threatned to diſcharge one of them in the Speaker's Chamber before the Committee.

Thus this Office has been managed in reſpect to the good of the Nation. It will not now be amiſs to conſider how far this Management has affected the poor Sailors: An Engliſh man is not hard-hearted enough to reflect on the miſerable Condition of our poor Sailors of Admiral *Nevil*'s Squadron in the *Weſt Indies*. I am credibly inform'd from good hands, that out of that Squadron in a very ſhort time we loſt above 2500 men, whoſe Lives I am ſure were of more value and concern to the Engliſh Nation, than all the Advantages of that Expedition, and the mighty Buſineſs of *Cartagena* our Gazette made ſuch a noiſe about. A hot Country, ſtinking Meat, and maggoty Bread, with the noiſom and poiſonous Scent of the Bilge Water, have made many a brave Engliſh Sailor food for Crabs and Sharks.

Now I am victualling abroad, ſuffer me to take a view of the Navy in the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*: I ſhall not touch too far upon this Head, the Affair being in better Hands, and under the conſideration of wiſer Heads; I mean before the Parliament. But as a Sailor, I muſt needs ſay if ſo large a Sum of Money as is talk'd of was impreſted to ſome body upon the account of Beverage, it is a damn'd ſhame that our Fleet ſhould be ſo ſcandalous as it was there, and go by the name of the Vinegar Fleet, by reaſon of the ſour Wine they drank: Beſides, I remember it was a believ'd Report aboard our Ships, that the Spaniards were oblig'd by Articles to find Beverage and dry Proviſions for the Engliſh Fleet; and we all concluded the vaſt Sums of Money brought aboard the Fleet by the victualling Pinnace, had been upon that account: The Cockſwain and ſome of the Pinnace's Crew once told me how many Tun of Plate they brought aboard the Fleet; but that and a hundred Rogueries beſide in that Fleet are out of my head at preſent: yet this I can aſſure you, the Folk concerned in buying the Beverage got very pretty Eſtates out of it; and old nonſenſical *Humphrey* had ſenſe enough to get, as we computed, at leaſt ten thouſand Pounds, when I am well ſatisfied if the Lords of the Admiralty would have been graciouſly pleaſed to have kept him at home, and given him twenty thouſand Pounds for ſo doing, it would have been more for the advantage of the Nation, and the Sailors Welfare: for we have abundance of men in publick Offices, that it would be for the advantage of the Country to give 'em twice the Salary to be without their Service. Thus has it far'd with the poor Sailors abroad.

Now let us look into the Channel, and see how our Summer and Winter Guards of Shipping have been victualled. I thank God *England* is a very plentiful Country, and an honest Man that has money in his Pocket need not go with an empty Stomach; and I think the Parliaments have always made as ample Provision for Victualling as may be; and yet during this War our Fleet has been put to short Allowance in the Channel, have had their guts pinch'd in view of the most plentiful Country in the World, an unparallel'd and barbarous Action hitherto unknown. This is bad enough, but to be fed with stinking Beef and Pork is much worse; and yet in the Year 91 or 92 the Victualling-Office was turn'd into *Pandora*'s Box, and emitted as many Poisons to the destruction of the poor Seamen, who were fed with rotten and stinking Meat, as the Pursers Surveys, and the Books at the Victualling-Office at *Dover* will testifie. It was not the nature of the Climate made these Provisions stink, this we are certain of, and as certain that it was done either out of a wilful Design against the Sailors, or out of profound Ignorance, both which are very dangerous.

It seems as if *England* was still to be perplex'd with a continued Series of ill Practices, and that the poor Sailors our chiefest Strength were to be abandoned to all the Miseries of human Life, and as if every one that has a superintendency over them, by that Power had a Right to abuse them: they learn one of the other to make earnings of them, and at the same time get Mony out of the King's Pocket and those poor Creatures Bellies. Our Advices from Admiral *Aylmer*'s Squadron affirm their having Irish Beef instead of English: without doubt English Beef bears a good Price in those Parts, and is a very Merchantable Commodity. It has always been contrary to the Custom of the Navy to victual with any other Provisions than what are received from the King's Stores, as long as such Provisions shall last: and the Pursers of Ships are obliged to furnish the Ship with such Provisions as are specified in their several Indents, for which before they gave Security at the Navy Board. Indeed it may be allowable for the Pursers of Ships in foreign Parts, where they can afford it, to victual with fresh Provisions, this change being not detrimental to the King but serviceable to the Sailors overrun with the Scurvy. And having before given Security for the Victualling of the Ship, in this Case the Provisions have been adjudg'd to be their own, and they have been impowred to sell them for their own Advantage, but not without the Commander's Warrant for so doing; tho I have known the King's Provisions sold in the River of *Thames*, which, if there had been any left upon Return from a Voyage, ought to have been return'd into the King's Stores from whence they were first issued. The Commanders of Ships formerly had nothing to do with the Ships Provisions, any further than to overlook and overawe

awe the Purſer, that none of them were converted any otherways than to the uſe of the Ship; but now it ſeems the Commanders have uſurp'd a Power in this Caſe, altogether detrimental to the Sailors: there is now as ill a Cuſtom brought up in the Navy for the Commanders to receive the Ships neceſſary Money which always was the Purſers Charge, and for which they always indented with the Clerk of the Iſſues in the Victualling, being one Article amongſt the ſeveral Species of Provitions ſpecified in their Indent. But the Commanders being willing for their own Intereſt to have every thing in their own hands, have gain'd this Point upon the Purſers, not to their own diſadvantage. Now the Commander only having the Charge of the Ship, and giving no Security, being charg'd with nothing elſe, it's impracticable for him to receive the neceſſary Money, the Purſer having before given Security for the ſame.

If there had not been ſo great Care in the Victualling to get Eſtates, there might have been more Care taken in getting good and wholeſom Proviſions for the Service of the Navy: but any thing is thought fit Food for Sailors, who being long accuſtomed to bad Diet, hardly know when they are ill us'd. But indeed the Care of the Victualling requires ſomething of Brains; and as Times and Seaſons alter, ſo muſt Methods too, for a common Road may lead a Man to the Place he intends to go, tho common Reaſon might direct him a nearer and perhaps a cleanlier way, if his Judgment was ſutable to his Neceſſity. But Men of ſmall Reaſon are often the greateſt Opiniators, and think the Exerciſe of their Talent outdoes all Mankind, when their Actions weigh'd in the Ballance of Reaſon are lighter than the loweſt degree of vanity. I refer it to the Judgment of any rational Man whether the Method now us'd in the Victualling in diſſolving the Rock Salt into Pickle, and therewith pickling their Meat for Sea Service, be conſiſtent with Reaſon and the health of the Sailors: we know they are neither Conjurers nor Philoſophers, yet a ſmall degree of knowledg will tell a Man, that Pickle with all the ill qualities of Salt in it, can never be wholeſom for human Bodies, which the Rock Salt muſt of neceſſity have before refining. The Bittern, the moſt noxious Quality in Salt, is ſeparated only by Precipitation; and this Quality joyn'd with a ſulphurous Arſenick in the Rock, and embodied with the moiſture of the Meat, if it ſuit the Victuallers Intereſt, it can never agree with the Welfare of the Sailor. Mr. *Collins* in his Diſcourſe of Salt, *p.* 55. ſpeaking of its vicious Effects, ſays as to Fleſh, *Beſides in general a bad Taſte, or a good Reliſh deſtroy'd, the Moiſture, Gravy, and Nouriſhment in a little time is rendred as ſalt as Salt it ſelf. Hence the Fleſh becomes hard, afterwards very bad or unfit for Food, and at length is mortified or rotten.* He further adds as to the Conſequences of uſing it: *It cauſes Scurvies, Conſumptions, and other*

Acrimonious Diſeaſes in the Bodies of Seamen, or Soldiers in a beſieged Garriſon, that are compell'd to the frequent and long uſe of it. Nay it is of ſo violent and corroding a Nature, that the Honourable *Robert Boyl* Eſq; has ſo prepar'd it, as to make it diſſolve Iron Bars: but perhaps the Victualler thinks the Sailors Bodies more durable than Iron, and becauſe their Patience cannot be worn out, their Guts can't neither. There's no great danger that any Body will follow this fooliſh Example; however herein they have manifeſted their kindneſs to the King and Country in uſing a Method that leſſens the Duty upon Salt, conſidering how many Weigh of Salt is us'd in Pickle in one Year: and it is very unſeemly that a Project deſtructive of a publick Fund, ſhould commence at the King's own Houſe as an Example to the Subject; but the whole Management of the Navy is of a piece. The *Simeon*'s and *Levi*'s, tho of different Tribes, are embarked in the ſame Cauſe, purſue the ſame Ends, and are alike odious in the eyes of the People.

But the miſmanagements of this Office and of the Navy, proceed from the Admiralty, as filthy Springs from an impure Fountain, theſe being but branches of that curſed Tree, that has yielded the Nation ſuch ſowr fruit, as to ſet all our Sailors teeth on edg: an Office manag'd we know not how, nor to what purpoſe; for I dare engage to pick out as many old Women in *Wapping*, that ſhould have manag'd that Affair more for the Honour, Glory and Advantage of the Engliſh Nation. The Queen of *Sheba* when ſhe gave her Viſit to *Solomon*, extol'd his Wiſdom and his Servants: our *Solomon* is indeed worthy of Honour, who has been the Care of Heaven, as three Nations have been his; and the Queen of *Sheba* might juſtly have done him the ſame Honour could ſhe have come hither: yet I engage ſhe would have left out the latter part of her Compliment, and took little notice of the *Sitting of his Servants* in the Admiralty, of their Virtue or Wiſdom: She takes no notice of *Solomon*'s nor *Hiram's* Navy, yet the Scripture tells us they were under the Conduct *of Ship-Men that had knowledg of the Sea*; and in another place, that part of their Loading was Apes and Peacocks, but tells us no where that Apes or Peacocks had the Sovereign Command in Sea Affairs, or that Land-men were proper Perſons to command Men of War. It is a great Misfortune to a Prince to fall into the hands of Sycophants and Flatterers, who magnifie their own deſerts to the Ruin of the Nation, get about him ſo cloſe that his beſt Subjects can't ſee him; and if he be unfairly dealt with they know nothing of it, neither how to commiſerate his Condition, nor give him that Aſſiſtance as is neceſſary to his preſervation: ſuch a Prince is perfectly hoodwink'd like a Hawk, and thoſe that hold him will not let him fly, but at ſome profitable Quarry for their own Advantage; they never ſuffer him to hear what others can ſay, leſt they ſhould ſpeak ſomething to their

own

own Prejudice. And thus the Prince by adhering to and promoting the Interest of a few, loses the Love of many, which often proves fatal both to himself and People. A Good Prince dispenses his Favours as the Sun does its Beams by a universal Reflection upon Plants of all sorts, but the more generous Plants receive most of the kindly Influence of its Rays. Mercy is a commendable thing in a Prince, it may drop upon Criminals, but Favours ought not to pour down upon them. I would not destroy the whole Species of Vipers because they are part of the Creation, and manifest the Wisdom of the great Former of all things; but there is no necessity for me to foster them in my Bosom, and expose my Body to their Poison. If the Managers of the Admiralty deserve the Posts they occupy, it is more than the People know, and the Merchants of *England* will tell lamentable Stories to the contrary. Some of them perhaps have deserv'd well of their Country, however not in the Admiralty: for a Person prefer'd to an Office he knows nothing of, by his Ignorance in one day may do more disservice to his Country, than all the former Services of his Life will amount to. The wisest Men in *England* have employ'd their Brains to no purpose, to unriddle the meaning of such Preferments; the old Maxim of preferring Enemies and disobliging Friends has been exploded by all Men of Sense: but the Court Party have now another Maxim, that all Commonwealths Men are Enemies to Monarchy, and not to be trusted; and all Englishmen and Lovers of the Liberties of their Country they represent as such, while the contrary get the best Places of Profit and Trust in the Kingdom. Now I would fain know how this Government comes to be a Monarchy in their Sense, and whether any Commonwealthsman in *England* can desire a Government more suitable to the common Good, and conform to his own Principles, if it be faithfully administr'd according to its Constitution. For no Man of a Republican Principle can desire more than to have Kings accountable to the People for Male-Administration, and by their forefaulting to make a Forfeiture of the Regal Dignity wherewith they are vested; by which Forfeiture all the Right of Governing devolves again upon the People, who of their own free Will and undoubted Right and Power proceed to a New Election, and place one more Righteous than the former upon the Throne if they think fit, upon which Foundation this Government is built. So that Commonwealthsmen, as the Courtiers call them, must be the best Friends of this Government, because they are for securing the Foundation of it, and not for raising a Superstructure to make it top-heavy and tumble down. Ill and corrupt Officers and Ministers are the greatest Enemies to Monarchy in the World: for when the People see under all Kings ill Men in Offices, the Wealth of the Nation profusely lavish'd, and the Liberties of the People in continual danger, they'l conclude that Mismanagements are accidents

dents inſeparable from Monarchy, that the Fault is not in the King but in the Office, and let 'em change the Perſon never ſo often, the thing will be the ſame; and ſo begin to think of another form of Government.

There has been ſuch an uninterrupted Progreſs of Miſmanagements in our Naval Affairs, through the Conduct of the Perſons concerned in the Managery, that nothing hitherto has been our preſervation, but the immediate hand of Providence: The Walls of our Iſland are our Shipping; thoſe once broken down, we are laid open to the violent Inſults of any Enemy: A little Retroſpection now would do very well, and not only ſo, but we ought to look forward, and find out ways and means to prevent the like for the future.

It is the Buſineſs of our Repreſentatives in Parliament to enquire into things of this Nature; they are the Guardians of our Liberties, and are bound to redreſs the Grievances of the People, by virtue of whoſe electing Power they have a Right to ſit in the Houſe of Commons and enact Laws: They have no Power from the People they repreſent to make Laws deſtructive of their Property, or diminiſhing of their Wealth, upon groundleſs Occaſions; nor ought they to give Releaſes to ſuch as have ſquander'd away the Wealth of the Kingdom, and betray'd the Liberty of the Subject. He that dos not prevent a Miſchief when it lies in his power ſo to do, is equally guilty with the hand that did it, and equally accountable to God Almighty. It is much more now the Buſineſs of Parliaments, ſince there's no way elſe to bring Criminals to Juſtice; and the greateſt Juſtice that ever was done in Caſes of this nature has been done by Parliaments, of which I could give many Inſtances had I time or place. Making publick Examples of ſuch Criminals is not only a Debt we owe to publick Juſtice, and the common good of the Realm, but will be a Terror to all future Offenders in Caſes of the like Nature: for if ſuch Abuſes are tolerated too long, they'l become faſhionable, and a Man muſt turn a Rogue to get into an Employment. 'Tis well for the Engliſh Nation theſe Miſcreants are not beyond the Reach of Parliament, whoſe Authority and Prerogative if once loſt we may bid an eternal Farewel to our Native Liberty; and indeed the leſſening of the Power of Parliaments has not a little been aim'd at by ſome within theſe few years, who would have us believe the Buſineſs of the Commons is only to aſſemble one year in St. *Stephen's* Chappel to raiſe Mony for them to ſquander it away the next; I wonder all this while they have not had the Impudence to attempt the raiſing of Mony without Act of Parliament, that being as legal as the converting appropriated Funds to other uſes than ſuch as are ſpecify'd in the Act. But the day of Judgment we hope is at hand, when the Wiſdom and ſupream Authority of the People ſhall avenge the Injuries done to the Engliſh Nation upon the Criminals.

To

To look forward is as much our Intereſt; and no leſs the indiſpenſible Duty of our Repreſentatives in Parliament to take care of the ſafety of the Nation in the well management of the Fleet. His Majeſty in his moſt Gracious Speech upon disbanding the Army, lays the ſafety of the Nation before them, *as a Duty incumbent on them*; and ſince the Army is disbanded, our main ſafety is our Shipping. This Security ſuppoſed, was, I believe, the chief reaſon of laying the Land Forces aſide; ſo that now the beſt Security we have left is our Shipping, and a good and ſufficient Security too under a good Management. The Nation has already felt the Effects of the preſent Management; and to let the Nation ſuffer any longer upon this Account may bring us under ſuch ill Circumſtances, that will put it out of the Power of Parliaments to recover us from ruin. The Admiralty has been in the hands of ſuch Men too long already, and 'tis now more dangerous than ever to repoſe a Truſt of ſo high a Nature, of ſuch great Conſequence to the Nation, in their hands; we know very well what Party it was inſiſted ſo much upon the Neceſſity of a Land Force: and to truſt the Navy in ſuch hands for the future, as already it has been of ill Conſequence, ſo it may prove more dangerous; they may ſo far embaraſs the Naval Affairs, retard the Enterprizes of the Navy, by ordering Squadrons and Cruizers in ſuch Stations where they cannot be ſerviceable: ſo that in a little time the Navy doing no ſervice, ſhall be thought altogether uſeleſs, and this ſhall be made an Argument for the neceſſity of a Land Army. I wiſh the Miſcarriages of the Navy already have not been out of deſign for this Purpoſe: If theſe Grievances continue, the Commons may at laſt be forc'd to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs for the future by taking the Charge and Management of the Navy and dependant Offices into their own hands, by appointing Commiſſioners of their own: and this ſeems rational enough for thoſe that are at the Charge, to ſuperintend the Management of the Affair; nor is this a new thing and unprecedented. 31 *Hen. 6. Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *John* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *John* Earl of *Worceſter*, *James* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Sturton were appointed by Parliament to keep the Seas*; and the Tunnage and Poundage were appointed for defraying the Charge thereof. 8 *Hen.* 4. The Merchants were empowered to name two Perſons, the one for the South, the other for the North, *who by Commiſſion had the like Power as other Admirals had.* So that you ſee the Charge of the Navy has been a Parliamentary Care in times leſs dangerous than now; and thoſe who are appointed Commiſſioners in this Affair will be more careful in the diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them, nor will they have ſo many ways to ſlip their Necks out of the Collar as now: Here will be no Privy Seal to impreſt Money for unknown Services, no paſſing of Accounts with-

without Vouchers, no abuſe of Sailors in Wages or Proviſions; the Kingdom will be kept in a good Poſture of Defence; the Minds of the People will be eaſy when the Management of their Navy is in the hands of Commiſſioners of their own, alike intereſted in the Good and Security of the Realm; and our Enemies more terrified, when the Buſineſs of the Navy is the Care of the whole Kingdom. All which is ſubmitted to the Wiſdom of our Repreſentatives in Parliament, before whom the Caſe lies at this Juncture.

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